/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the *Ijká* clan:

539 776 It was arranged in the times of the old *chuneles*, when the *lab* talked it over, there where they live. The *chuneles* later heard about it through their *lab*, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the *Chik* clan:

Ants went into the home of the *Boj*, and the latter went to the home of the *Ijká*, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the *lab* spoke, but the *chuneles* knew and told it to their *chapomales*.

Domingo López Uax, of the *Boj* clan; now of the *Ijká*:

The *lab* of the *Boj* and of the *Ijká* spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are *chapomales* and cannot marry."

614 551 177 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 614 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the *Chik* clan, 31 of the *Chejeb*, 21 of the *Ijká*, and 7 of the *Boj* (now incorporated into the *Ijká* clan).

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians
and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more
tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the
most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according
631 to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities
563 (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The
former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which
formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal,
Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the
municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the
principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time
the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the
greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages
first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked
[177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between
the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative
matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first
place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government.
This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent
compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the
village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government
are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and,
243 to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal
439 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this
crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is
433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops
241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown
in San Martin; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón,
Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally
from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton
[286] commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local
manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com-
[178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and
231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently
184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log
they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic
233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been
[654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the
Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the
Indians.

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented 273
from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in
Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed 276
frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc. 184

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. 443
Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in 323
Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudi- [438]
mentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivaca;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour;"[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*kuxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivaca by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozoil* in water to reduce the porosity. 439

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, 114
nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by 285
Blom and LaFarge for Bachajon,[22] were not reported by Villa. 286

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although 342
there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in 184
form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón [177]
and Yajalon, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised 352
of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

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[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342-345.

[20] *Ibid.*, 2:343.

[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.

[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345-349.

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel,*[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs
415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline
251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to
[417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal
[184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in
184 the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*kú*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable
•[177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says,
582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between
114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc,
551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

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[23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another, here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. [illegible]2
These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine 551
gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases [611]
where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian [177]
surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[27]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow: 551

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicb, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each 621
pueblo (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only [184]
these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an 621
imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one 829
calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of 823
the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the 621
northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

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[27] Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries [171]
(Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), ". . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. . . . Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), ". . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'naal,' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their
poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and
running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head,
turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this
thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion
they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious
•[777] musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute
(*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and
a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is
accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken
[794] from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo
in religious processions.[34] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly
between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must
contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are
in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at
Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are
painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in
color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints;
778 it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
776 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
796 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small
Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great
Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great
quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
(114) elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[35] Villa's notes
778 do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
782 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[36]
776 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
114 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No
information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed
by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

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[34] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the *cruz bedora*, is moved about in ritual

[35] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[36] Nuñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

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other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaquitepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

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Another cultural variation stems from its ecological location. Communities of the southern zone, which have good lands, roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

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I shall mention only the periods of greatest social significance in the past four centuries. The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marin in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

175 *dation of the Spanish dominance* lasted from
•177 1545 (when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas
648 arrived with 17 Dominican friars) until
[166] 1600. During this period a vast movement
of population took place characterized by changes in location of some towns, reductions, and congregations.

During the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the *period of slavery and royal land grants,* Indians were subjected to heavy tributes and to forced labor on the plantations and in transporation systems of the encomenderos, as *tememes* or carriers. Great caravans of 300–400 Indians, at the command of 10 or 12 Spaniards, transported goods the 1000 km. from San Cristobal de las Casas to Veracruz. Many died from excessive loads and lack of food (B. Metzger, 1960, p. 19).

175 From about 1720 to about 1850 may be
177 considered the *period of resurgence and*
648 *autonomy of the Indian community,* when
797 the system of royal land grants was suppressed, the Order of Dominicans was weakened, and Spanish authority became relaxed and even indifferent. Bishop Polanco sent a report in 1781 to the Royal Court of Justice of Guatemala, complaining of the abandonment of the Indians (Trens, 1942, p. 200).

> It is wondrous that in the town of Chamula, contiguous to Ciudad Real, Indians have need of interpreter to defend themselves or to beg for what they desire. So that they are as they were twenty years after their conquest; in such a state of blindness and ignorance they find themselves. In the town of San Andres, next to Chamula, there are many saints, old and indecent, whom I thought of burying; I did not do it because those evil souls say that they make them see clearly and alleviate their needs. I suspected a riot without having assistance
>
> Oh, my Lord, their audacity and shamelessness are such that they even come to command in the church, without respect for the priest. They hold to the idea that the third person of the Holy Trinity is the Sun, because, they say, it was thus taught to them by the old fathers.

[P. 198-A]

175 177 648 797 The mistakes, lack of attention and pretensions of the Indians in regard to the Christian doctrine, who they say they know, and the ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular and ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 177 648 The next period, *invasion of lands by Ladinos,* extends from about 1850 to 1911, when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Trens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire [178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES OF THE REGION

114 [101] In his first trip through the Mayance area in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

> 241 Here we come to bring you your food, to
> 796 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
> 782 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
> 539 so you may be happy, so you will not abandon
> [534] us.
>
> We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.
>
> Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.
>
> Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul misa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, Indians
439 buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
• 177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P. 203-A]

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices,
[563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc
is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers
into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a
metal knife (manufactured by the Indians
from iron pieces bought in the city), is used
to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzeltal
[177] own and build is the wooden cane press,
which was imported by the Spaniards to
grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is
operated by two men, who move the rollers
by a handle (*kābal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers
drops into fluted containers made of pieces
of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This
273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic
beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or
wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made
from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other
fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa,
Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference
for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunting.
411 Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa)
rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of
dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352)
state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually
hunt wild boar with long wooden spears
with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps
protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous.
The usual set consists of clay containers of
varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets,
wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks,
and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and especially
415 handy *nixtamal* mills (which are
gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

463 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian
241 who does not have a milpa since this is the
work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 This is a matter that varies according to
613 the degree of acculturation reached by the
[177] community. In the most conservative groups
[181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango)
there are still family property rights, but
they seem to depend on lineage rather than
on the immediate family (Villa Rojas,
562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri-
428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861,
423 which I found in the possession of the
613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez
614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents
of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000

DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK [A]

“Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre. Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propría família, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias,. Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

[A] /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [199] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4-5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's
[753] clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to
584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is
accepted, the gifts are received and the
marriage takes place.

585 In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the
Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for
184 several years after the informal marriage,
[177] because of the belief that the latter really
consolidated the union. On the other hand,
in places where the Ladino population is
larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious
ceremony is considered by the Indians
as a very important part of the customs.

184 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed
177 among these communities where Ladinos
608 have great influence. There are baptism,
confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The
rights and duties established through this
relationship are still respected, especially
608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of
the child's parents to give occasional gifts
[736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die,
the godparents must take care of him, except
when there are closer relatives to the
father.

585 It is the main duty of the wedding god-
608 parents to help the couple maintain a good
understanding and to dissolve, by advice,
any disagreement. They always receive
great respect and affection from their
ahijados.

608 Among conservative groups, the compa-
[851] drazgo relationship arises only from the
baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship
is established in a very informal way;
perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center
they may take advantage of the priest's
presence to ask a very close friend to "em-
574 brace" the child. The padrino is then invited
608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement
is made formally; the parents of
the child go to the house of their future
[431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges
of gifts and dinner invitations are
frequent, the child's parents feeling the
greater obligation. These meals can be really
banquets where many "platillos" and
184 much aguardiente are consumed. Among
608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to
431 [P. 219-A]
736

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Catholic Cult

• 177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who
are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered
with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part
of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have
to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

795 782 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the [778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 778 776 177 The local character of Catholicism is seen in the Masses offered to the mountain called Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic times. 795 184 776 In almost all the municipios the saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 794 One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost [435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

776 This substitute is called *gelol,* the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
● [777] parajes which, although based on Christian
[778] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[776] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, [776] the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 778 Also important are the prayers said by families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 *Talking Saints*

776 [177] Another religious form where Indian tradition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223-A]

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire 175
and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know 174
a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. 172
La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a remodeled 133
mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out 778
sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden
crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means [103]
"much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until [782]
quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off [796]
many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too
fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away [177] •
by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians [178]
alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, 172
the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. 123
Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and 172
they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

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*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We re-
[123] ceived many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

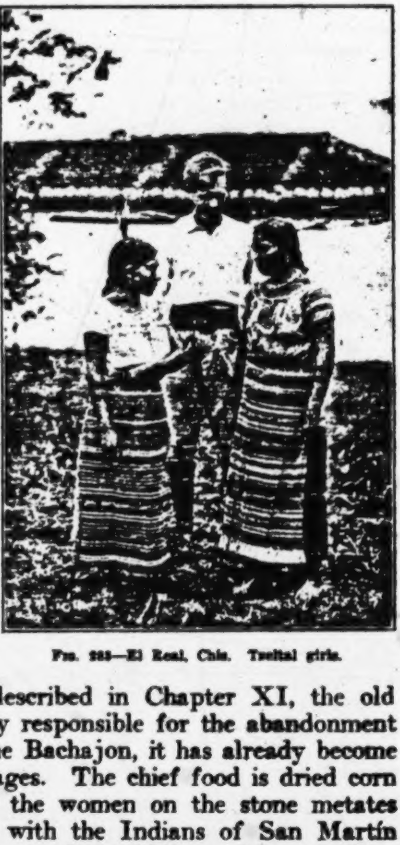

Fig. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people
[181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend
[433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the
[291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons,
[301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cot-
[302] ton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful
[178] "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment
[166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn
262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates
252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and
411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al-
412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most
184 amazing industries in the world.
177

291 Their hats are a smaller-brimmed version of the Mexican sombrero, plaited by the men out of straw. The long plait is stitched in a spiral with *ixtle* fibre or hennequen. They may be decorated with coloured ribbons.

302 Hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead.

291 The Bachajon women get themselves up a little more gaily, in a dark blue skirt and prettily embroidered blouse. Both are made of materials purchased in the stores. The skirt, *tsekel,* made of the blue cotton from San Cristóbal, is in the form of a cylinder, decorated along the seams, with parti-coloured stitching, red, white, green, and yellow. Naturally, it is a great deal too full at the waist; this fullness is taken up with a twist, which is then tucked in, holding the skirt in position without disaster.

The blouse, *kuul,* is of white cotton, the neck open from shoulder to shoulder, with a short sleeve coming half-way to [294] the elbow. Embroidery of red and blue thread, or an appliqué of stamped tape bought in the stores, outlines the neck and shoulder seams, the edge of the sleeves, and the upper part of the front of the blouse. The bottom is tucked in under the skirt.

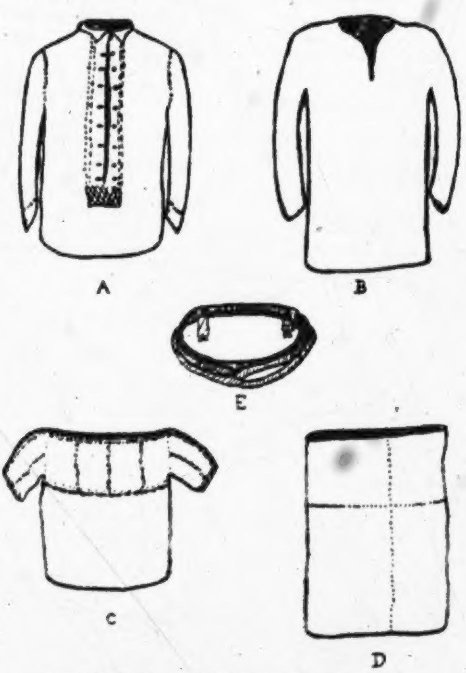

FIG. 285—Costumes, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.

A. Shirt, Bachajon.
B. Men's shirt, Ocosingo Valley.
C. Woman's blouse, Bachajon.
D. Woman's skirt, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.
E. Sash.

302 The women do their hair in one or two braids, which may be decorated with red or yellow ribbon. Ordinarily it is very neatly combed and parted down the middle. Sometimes it is allowed to hang unbraided, but gathered with a pin or ribbon just behind the head.

291
177 Curiously enough, the Indians in Ocosingo Valley, although more in contact with the Ladino people, have a less European costume.

tume. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without 291 cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, [177] bought at the local stores, is worn.

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitan.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found 342 in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm- [184] roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287).

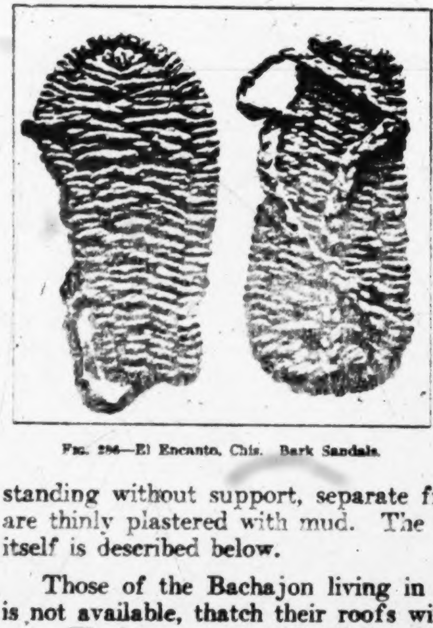

FIG. 286—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut [29] at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens.

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai, tcyapai*, or *chichon, ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

224 tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

[824] When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-tĕc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

251 Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcar.*

482 The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHar,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

492 [178] Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan,
Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 501
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [177]

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes
posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to
bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 587
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal
character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious
or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. Informal 588
unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently
without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together,
their family relationship slowly changing into that of a
married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in
their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in
funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here
are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description
of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent
on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little
change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries.
The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight
described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my
own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few
days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife,
well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At
the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may
be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares
to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is
told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor
matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

764 [123] candles for the wife; we had previously sent flowers. The family, being poor, were very glad of our contribution. When we arrived the scene was lighted by one tall candle and the glow of a low fire, mostly coals, with a few weak flames flickering across it. The body was laid out, wrapped in all its clothes and then in a mat bound with cords, forming a bundle more or less resembling a mummy. At its head was a cross, on top of which flickered the solitary candle. The family and neighbours were crowded into the house, the women sitting on the floor about the body, their heads covered with black shawls; behind them the men made themselves as comfortable as possible. They brought such musical instruments as they possessed. The family provided rum. At the dead man's feet squatted his wife, her face almost completely covered by the black shawl.

The wife rocked to and fro, from a squatting to a kneeling position, alternately laying her clasped hands on the pall, and holding them to her eyes, keening. She gasped out a few broken words, half choked with sobs, then let her speech rise higher and higher, crescendo, to a wail that broke off with a half-sob, half-gasp. Thus she went on, falling into a chanting rhythm, which the other women joined spasmodically. The men talked in low tones, and played faintly on their instruments, more or less in time with her. The packed place was very warm, and had the acrid, smoky smell of many Indians.

Later, drinking went on, and the visitors danced, as at any ceremonial. The keening was maintained all night.

When we brought our candles, the woman stopped her mourning long enough to hustle the men, who were slow in setting them on the cross, then she took up again.

[177] The body may be interred the following day in a burying-ground, or in the floor of the house. The former custom, observed at El Encanto, is probably due to outside influence. In that case, the body was carried on a plank by four men. A few more men came along to help, and the wife and three or four women followed. The men wore clean clothes, and had left their machetes behind. Only the wife wore a black shawl, which must have been hot in the sun at high noon, when the procession took place. She continued her keening, and carried a lighted candle. Whenever the pall-bearers laid the body down to rest, she fanned flies away with the dead man's hat.

The grave was well dug, about five feet deep, without regard for orientation. After being lowered into it, the ropes binding the body were cut, that the dead man might rise freely on judgment day. Lumps of dirt and rocks were laid on to hold the mat in place.

764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantaiy-el tca-vinik,* "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan k'in,* "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 777 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

> "The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

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*Pineda. 1888. Page 77.

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas 796
are called *k'in,* the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in,* "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian 771
or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* 177 •
the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while 178
teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain 778
it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar, tcun tat-ik,* "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik,* "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

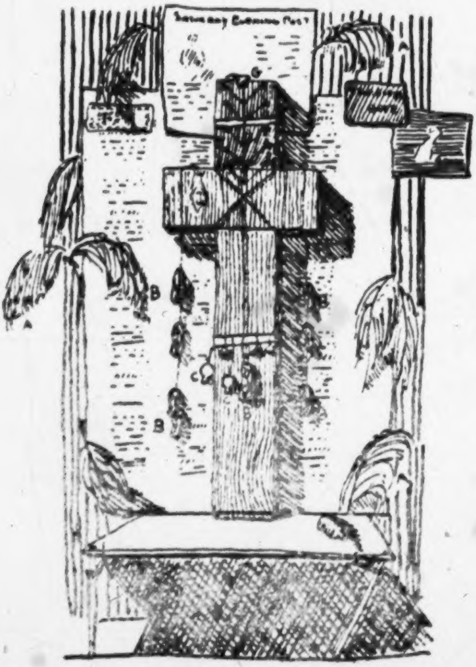

Fig. 309—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

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*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 151 ff.

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label
from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall
of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a
page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave
[123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed
with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table
below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and
a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 Incense, *pom,* and candles, both extensively used by the Indians
788 today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the
177 Catholic Church.
178

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to
793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their
villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that
they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description
of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the
Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about
[241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-second
[648] and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to
allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency
on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after."
The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration,
in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir
[794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two
older men, called *caporales,* who were distinguished by a cross-belting
of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations,
in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson
banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing
went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum,
which was given out by the *caporales.* Inside the house, a palm-thatched
one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty
[534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There
was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented
by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual,
although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his
[533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like
a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples
[535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike
waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally
changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This
type is called in Spanish *zapatea,* in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out.*

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177●

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*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

771 spasmodically ever since. The temples and idols were overthrown,
178 the theocracy, that knew the lore and could read the books, was
• 177 killed off or reduced to the common level. The books themselves have vanished. At the same time, churches were built, and Christianity preached with a fine enthusiasm. Later, idols whenever discovered were destroyed, and all forms of heathenism vigourously opposed. This process has continued for some four hundred years. In other places less than half that time has sufficed to wipe out every vestige of an old cult, but here, not only had the Padres to deal with a race at least semi-civilized, supporting a sophisticated religion, but a people of remarkable, tenacious conservatism, and who, moreover, at all times have outnumbered their conquerors.

It must be borne in mind that the highly evolved, elaborate old-time religion could only be maintained in its purity by an educated people, men who could philosophize, study history, and read the stars with scientific accuracy. Obviously, what survives can only be in a simplified and debased form.

778 Most directly religious are certain places of worship retained by
178 the Indians. The old Mayas are known to have used, of course, caves as well as their mounds and temples. Nuñez de la Vega* tells of such worship going on in his time, and according to Sapper† it continues in Guatemala today.

In Ocosingo Valley, the pyramids of Cololté (*kolol-te,* a kind of tree), Chakalchib (*cakaltcip',* translation not known), and Campomtik (*kan,* "yellow," *pom,* "incense," *-čtik,* "much"), have been mentioned in the last chapter. They are all prehistoric places of worship. Their use by the Indians has been continued into modern times.

On top of Cololté the almost completely disfigured idol has already been described. It is decked with fir branches, and fir tips have been laid about its base. Before it in an arc stand wooden sticks to hold candles. The Indians do not come here at set periods as is usual elsewhere, but only when there is great need of rain.

Campomtik, across from Cololté, was used annually until a short time ago. Their celebrations made so much uproar that finally a local Priest had them driven away, and the worship there has been discontinued. There is still a big, rotting cross set up on top, but there are no offerings or candlesticks.

Behind Ocosingo, Chakalchib is still a place of worship, where fiestas are held annually without benefit of clergy. A large pile of stone in the center of the platform supports one cross about the

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*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
†Sapper, 1925.

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsax,* which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak,* means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits ycvakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still cur-
178 rent in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen
months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and
days. We asked in the different villages what names were given
124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for
796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart
177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of
178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe
that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very
few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made
out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days.
However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to
the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be
stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years
earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his
178 article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan"
796 (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them,
one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as
saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This
would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

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*Starr, 1908—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

753 Or, "the man is suffering from malaria which he got in hot country the last time he went to the fincas." Or, "the man's spirit is being eaten by a witch, Mr. X, who is angry with him because he did not pay back the money he owed." Every after-the-fact description of antecedent conditions implies a cause and effect relation such that the cause can be manipulated so as the patient will recover from the illness. After-the-fact descriptions of the sources of disease processes are never final since they are always dependent on (a) the further development of the disease process in the patient and (b) the confirmation in the identification of the source of illness by a successful attempt to reduce the effect of the source. If manipulation of the hypothesized source reduces the illness, the diagnosis of source is concluded to be correct; if not, further source potentials are searched for.

There is relatively little explicit procedural apparatus for adding to the inventory of after-the-fact explanations, and there are relatively few devices for modifying the modes of identification of the cause of the disease process. If a change capability is built into this theory of illness in Aguacatenango, it is not easy to detect wherein it lies.[1]

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[1] The modes of change that we have observed in Aguacatenangueros' response to illness have involved shifts from known medical practitioners to others, where the theory remains relatively unexplicated and the results of the medical practitioner's

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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753 Informants report experiencing a variety of sensed states as a disease process begins. Among these are depression (mental), cough, dry throat, diarrhea, fever, vomiting, stomach ache, loss

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progress are used to judge the probability of opting some particular medical practitioner for a cure rather than some other. Response to illness involves the principle of exhaustion of resources. In severe illness, the family of the patient may exhaust all known medical practitioners who are thought to have sufficient knowledge and skill and also may exhaust all means for motivating curers to come and perform the cure. With the diminution of resources and exhaustion of the most proper curers, the family of the patient explores curing sources whose potential for curing may be lower, but still appreciable. Successful curing under such circumstances raises the probability that this family will use some newly successful medical practitioner sooner in the next onset of illness, that is, he will be called upon before they have exhausted their resources. The introduction of INI medical practice into Aguacatenango has been in these terms, namely, that patients and their families have turned to INI medical personnel upon the exhaustion of their resources. INI procedures have maintained a ratio of successes over failures in these curing circumstances such that they have continued to be called upon, in some cases under less extreme conditions. The ratio of successes over failures has not been so great, however, that INI is seen to be a totally satisfactory replacement for the more well established practitioners. Furthermore, INI treats only a small proportion of the total range of "illnesses" that occur in the community. INI will increase the proportion of cases it treats as it modifies the Aguacatenangueros' perception of the success'failure ratio and as it increases the classes of illness that it deals with. It may be the case that INI has at present a maximal investment in time and resources in maintaining its present range and success proportion, so future severe changes may not be expected from them. There is, however, some generalization to other INI type of curers--namely, doctors in San Cristobal. The generalization here may increase the use of doctors over curers. There is the further possibility that curers are incorporating into their theories some of the simpler strategies used by doctors. This is done so crudely that it hardly involves change of beliefs at any detailed level, but rather involves a simple increase of the inventories of medicine by means of which the curer implements his theory.

7: Nash

NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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/For information on the "cacique", a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone marginal to the community -- a foreign Indian or Ladino -- see category 622./

Preface

T

> And so we shall be able to do what our mothers 782
> did and what our fathers did here where our 539
> Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us. 623
>
> *From the prayer said at the time of taking offices in the civil hierarchy*

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after 000
their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified.

M

Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn 185
from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation.

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For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of 177
surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the 178

177 very adjustments and adaptations that make economic survival possible.
178 Cut off from other Indian communities around them since the Conquest,
when their ceremonial centers were destroyed and the political hierarchy
which drew them into a single polity was replaced, the Indians were able
to retain a sense of cultural independence within the corporate communi-
[621] ties (Wolf 1957b). Each community developed a distinctive style of life in
which the old pre-Conquest beliefs and customs were reworked with the
colonial Spanish introductions. Validation of their behavior lay in the be-
[769] lief that they were doing as the ancestors did, and that they were living
"in the eyes of our ancestors."

[769] This social fiction is now threatened by a growing disbelief in the presence of these supernatural figures. The crisis caused by the disjunction between belief and behavior is forcing the Indians to reassess their present condition. Awareness of the contradictions between what they do and what they think they ought to do is forced upon them by events over which they have no control.

121 This study of a Maya Indian community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, deals with the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. It is a problem that we have failed to solve in our own society, if the labels of our time—The Age of Anxiety, The Society of Alienation—have meaning. I have studied this small Indian society not in search of a solution but as a way of phrasing the problem in the widest possible context.

I selected Tzoˀontahal because the people seemed to have retained a traditional Indian culture even though the community is on the Pan-American Highway linking them with the departmental and national capitals. The question of what changes had affected their lives and how they had responded to them was relevant to my interest in the effects of national changes on local groups. In the last year of my study my interest broadened from an enquiry into responses to external changes to a study of the meanings assigned to both internal and external changes.

621 Like many other predominantly Mayan communities of the Chiapas highlands, the community is the context of all meaningful social relations. Endogamy and a belief that the people who live in the center and the nearby barrios are descended from the same ancestors give a sense of eth-

186 tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic
and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional
and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians
and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history.
175 The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,*
361 which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in
162 small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have
829 moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in
the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people
are referred to by a derisive term, *Kuriḳ,* meaning roughly "country hick."
Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,*
settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other
towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired
land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are
called *Kašlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of
the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

121 The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living
within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world,
772 surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the
center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken
when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle
on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in
[804] squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the
[78] square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated
techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing
105 rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present
177 cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features
178 along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting
and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the
households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and
curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

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[171] [2] This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

marketing contraband liquor, minimizing discord and settling disputes locally, and preserving continuity in a town administration marked by the annual rotation of officials. 105 177 178

These are the techniques acquired for dealing with the world in which they were born. For the world into which they are being propelled, they are combining new skills with old, creating a semblance of continuity but with a recombination of elements. Fitting this square community into the round post-Columbian world is a task consciously undertaken by the Mexican government. Within the town, strategies are being developed to meet the new demands made on the community as economic and political horizons widen.

The problem focus on the relation between belief and behavior in a changing social environment can be restated by asking how behavior is conditioned by custom and how it responds to cues from the environment. The first class of responses is adjustive, fitting the behavior of the individual to a given environment, and the second is adaptive, changing the external environment (Kluckhohn 1962:46). I shall use the distinction Mowrer and Kluckhohn (1944:258) have made between adaptation, "which develops and changes inherited ways of behaving," and adjustment, "which develops and changes habits," with the former referring to socially acquired responses and the latter to individual responses. A moving equilibrium is found when changes in adjustive and adaptive responses fit a persisting framework of understandings and explanations. Both adjustive and adaptive responses follow rules. These rules enable social groups to generate consistent, understandable, and appropriate behavior in response to a variety of settings. The "rules of the game" set the parameters for adjustive behavior; the "rules of strategy" generate behavior adaptive to change. The rules of the game are validated by the belief system of the society; the rules of strategy can be justified on the same premises, but if they are so fundamental as to challenge existing values, they require a new ideology. 121

The model of change which takes into account the techniques of adaptation and adjustment occurring within small-scale societies is that of moving equilibrium. Wallace (1962:142) has stated the dimensions of this model:

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> A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most
178 static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been
241 stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow,
323 hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick,
while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have re-
592 mained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to
476 the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years.
361 In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a com-
pact settlement with the emphasis on the
bilateral kinship group.

pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority 177
of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community 178
is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, [627]
the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious [794]
officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral [776]
figures has been undermined. [769]

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of [623]
the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I [756]
first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior 128
in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

128 school included in Appendix 3 provide the data for an inductive analysis of conventions established by place. (These are compared and analyzed in Chapter 11.)

3. Timing of behavior: How does time enter into the consciousness of people's planning of activities? Time is a resource the use of which indicates the values assigned to activities and the relative power of people in bargaining positions. As such, it is a sensitive index to changes in strategies for allocating effort. (The sense of time is examined in reference to the scheduling of performances and interpreting the behavior of others in Chapter 12.)

The summary chapters provide the basis for testing the following hypotheses in the final chapter:

1. The stability of the society varies directly with:
    a. the degree of control over time and place
    b. the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict
    c. the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values
    d. the effectiveness of the techniques for transforming old power positions whose functions contradict changed social conditions into ceremonial posts
2. The lability of the society varies directly with:
    a. the gap between expectations and experience
    b. the degree of dissonance between traditional explanations and current interpretations of events

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178 During the period I worked in Tzoˀontahal, the fundamental propositions on which behavior was predicated were being challenged. When old beliefs are waning, the question is whether the techniques developed to maintain the old conditions for equilibrium will persist in the future.

121 Fortes (1959:25) has pointed out that the "serious defect . . . of generalized enthnographic descriptions" is that they do not show "how ritual or belief is actually used by men and women to regulate their lives." My purpose is to indicate not only how belief and ritual serve the ends of regulation but also how beliefs are transformed in the process of performing ri-

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk̡'al hiʔiletik̡ lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] lands (*k̡'išin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and [843] people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state [842] of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k̡'analum*), and white soils (*sak̡ lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik̡*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in [596] the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [476] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [551] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *sk̡oral Linetik̡* (corral of the Lins) or *sk̡oral Čailetik̡* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*šučilium*) and stony soil (*kešilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn*. In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. • [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

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[4] The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with 243 242
the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American 243
agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals 177
why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

> *There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.*

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* 243
plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by [407]
farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few [177]
farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is [426]
bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because [476]
it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters [423]
which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height [427]
of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of [796]
the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the [476]
labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more 244
radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of
pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the
[292] household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots
are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in
net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while
most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of
Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
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1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because
of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty
do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

434 and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of
291 that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior
[439] to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of
coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound
291 with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn
by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven
shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the
waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or
during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear
high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while
younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire
sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking
[177] on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers,
shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring
towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the
boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress,
but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their
[177] teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered
"air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw
[292] hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna
bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned
[194] palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office,
[292] used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make
[178] them.

291 The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation.
177 The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the
ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some
time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the
change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has
not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

Houses are built of materials locally produced or gathered from communal resources, but new construction materials, such as tiles, require cash outlay. The average house area is thirty-six square meters divided into two main rooms. Building is usually done in February or March. After the 342

TABLE 12. Clothing Expenditure and Origin

	Price (pesos)	*Place of origin*
Men's clothing		
Kotonču from Guatemala	60	Huehuetenango
Kotonču from Mexico	40	Comitán
Shirt worn by elders	60	San Bartolomé
Underpants	15	San Bartolomé
High-backed sandals	25	San Cristóbal
Wrapped pants	25	Teopisca
Tailored shirt	30	Teopisca
Factory-made shirt	7	San Cristóbal and Comitán
Straw hats	10	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Factory-made pants	15	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Belt	5	Teopisca, San Cristóbal, and Comitán
Sash	7	Comitán
Huaraches	20	San Cristóbal
Women's clothing		
Wrapped skirt	40–60	Comitán
Huipile, factory-made cloth	50	San Cristóbal
Huipile, hand-loomed cloth	60	San Bartolomé
Reboza	12–16	Comitán
Apron	5	San Cristóbal
Children's clothing		
Girl's skirt	7	Teopisca
Girl's blouse	5	Teopisca
Boy's shirt	3.5	Teopisca
Boy's hat	3–4	Teopisca, San Cristóbal
Boy's pants	5	Teopisca

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materials have been collected, the construction of the house frame takes about eight days' work with the cooperation of five or six men. Filling in the walls with mud takes another three days. Table 13 gives the cost of materials and transportation for one house built during my stay. 342

The biggest change in housing has been in the roofs. The old type of 177
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435

342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
[492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

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TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (*pesos*)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an
[514] oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
[647] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats
[177] they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are considered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs
[231] cannot scavenge the feces.

/

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers 000
train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when dark- 863
ness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 342
1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a 177
general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 178
20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle [125]
(declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	*1958**		*1964†*	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

[343]

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 per-
cent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are
usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect
new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has de- 343
clined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last 178
ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town 342
as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in 177
tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years be- 178
fore the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences 434
of witchcraft. 754

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177 178 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile.
434 Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were
[335] not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence
on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up
more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As
351 residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire
434 wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer
to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters,
while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement
of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters,
and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of
[554] a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central
lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping
435 accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a
[513] frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen
blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20
pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own
two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are
made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a
cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table
[778] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and
[322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and
suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters
415 in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and
435 workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade
439 water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade
glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal
cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving
[412] ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are
purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become
435 increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine
415 for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the
177 size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper 435 415
which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 177
cents each.

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor 365
shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed
in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although [651]
the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the
streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month
per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month.
Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by 354
pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes 444
the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes
buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets,
canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods
include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies,
gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household
supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and
kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin,
Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's
wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts,
blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in [436]
payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on
the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide
an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets.

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal 434
standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring 178
more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy 177
with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted
to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I
wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a
house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic]
with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my [156]
children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe

434
178 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred
177 and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all
[153] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I
am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation
in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale
for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive
the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a
shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels
of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing
[252] it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill,
grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough
[415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used
along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex-
[291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and
[296] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con-
text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and
[415] gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The
technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that
have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not
been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe,
machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in con-
sumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the
economic horizons of the Indians.

CHOICES AND STRATEGIES IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality
of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and
proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil
fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first
explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or
turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and
corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which
the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to
the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time required 241
for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal
fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [782]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [776]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [769]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where
irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique
or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine
segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been
stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's
work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn,
and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried,
but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him. 736 562

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community. Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it. 434 177 464

Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzoˀontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.

177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
464 tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

THE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE EJIDO

423 Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

> highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the 423
> flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzoˀontahal in the first few years 175
after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its 423
immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional 182
and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their 464
labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not [465]
enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household.
Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in
the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption
needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could
withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family
from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido [241]
plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, [435]
August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage
of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corporate 175
community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands ac- 423
quired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws 621
of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign
Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities
created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937.
One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has [177]
adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in 423
recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families mi- 621
grated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 166

T
661 *us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very*
652 *good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We*
621 *called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge be-*
571 *cause the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot*
241 *that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't*
work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.

T
[693] *We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of* the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

T
178 Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians
661 are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the
621 past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the
571 engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never
[426] been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in deal-
[693] ing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they
feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally
T
[177] conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking
professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the mo-
[178] nopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound
in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

M
423 Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a
361 new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled
towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has
been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This sponta-
M
neous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of
[491] new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera
Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the
M
423 colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mesti-
621 zos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido
563 status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of
[197] life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations
that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights
M
641 under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that
563 these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either 231
for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since [434]
the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of [237]
a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are [281]
used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital 474
had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store 444
owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years [647]
of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing [177]
the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year
from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the
money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the
I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on
their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The [454]
profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill.
Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The [434]
store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos.
The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per [465]
month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the [563]
stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another
community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary
of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca
who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If
you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative [434]
store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. [454]
The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the
purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two
times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership 474
of a *marimba,* a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by 534
eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players
never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of
town.

The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting 474
the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife 493
and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians [182]
hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the
major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [578]
[their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the [621]
truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last 273
ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by In- [177]
dians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has
been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in dis- [415]
tillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated
in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital 273
investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individu- 472
als or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have 602
charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be- 273 472

273
472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion
of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance
273 protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal
548 agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence
661 of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system
of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating
bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the
sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or
two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission,
a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned
land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization,
mobilized in emergencies only.

THE NEW SOCIAL RESOURCES

177 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience
178 with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources
43 in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit,
44 (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In
621 entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a
156 sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous
farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring
continuity with local control systems.

472 *Entrepreneurship.* Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in
621 a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates
156 entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in
local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
159 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked
472 up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán.
621 He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas
45 to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When
he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the
milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has
not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereo-
type Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians.
How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the La-
dino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But
it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary re-
sources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual
route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a
lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn
from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently
colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit
cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of
their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage,
which they receive from other communities as well as Tzo ͻontahal. The
professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the
development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoͻontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in
the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is
being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure eva-
sion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive struc-
ture of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are en-
tering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on
terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians
combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from
the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than 177
to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron- 178
client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower 474
barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but 693
the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enter- 621
prises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology 177
of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources 178
which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operat- 472
ing the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the 626
enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death 182
is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An ear- 472
lier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s: 556

> *The brothers Čaʔiletik became "very rich" as a result of careful opera-* 556
> *tion of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen* 433
> *and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it* 423
> *looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good* 621
> *threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting* 626
> *them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and* 159
> *turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Čaʔiletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.*

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy di- 474
rected against individuals and permitting some increase in productive ef- 182
forts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consump- 626
tion standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors, 556
000

556 622 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference
[23] is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the
form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

177 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzoʾontahal fits the model
178 of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve
433 the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They pro-
434 vide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing de-
621 pendence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transform-
323 ing the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of
change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzoʾontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

852 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of
608 the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the
571 house, they are greeted with the pat?o?tan by the maliwanehetik who are
788 waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party
says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party,
an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire
company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the
[273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of
[593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child.
[603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must
finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two
grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the
grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy
[778] godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred
symbols of the culture.[2]

608 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo?ontahal contrasts with
571 the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where
171 the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in
economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in
their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

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177

Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo?onthal are initiated into the community of the liv-
584 ing and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial
585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] [571] [608] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

[2] See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] [3] In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo?ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

756 boring community who is reputed to practice both witchcraft and curing receives fees of 200 to 300 pesos regularly. She has been accused of killing more than one patient in giving injections.

753 Since most diseases are not static conditions, a master classification must take into account physiological process. The only absolutely evil diseases are those which are found to be incurable. When diseases which start out as apparently "good," or not caused by evil intent, fail to respond to patent medicines, the patient or his family begin to suspect witchcraft. They then turn to the curer who will diagnose this. Category 1 of Table 22 includes those diseases which, depending on duration and intensity, indicate the presence of evil.

In the case of the illnesses of God, Category 3 of Table 22, an additional complication enters. As in the case of Category 1 diseases, they may begin as "good" diseases, but the introduction of evil by a witch means that the illness can cause death to many people. This category includes the contagious diseases, the most common ones being measles, whooping cough, and heat, which may refer to typhoid, grippe, or to an increase in the virulence of other contagious diseases.

[777] The designation "sickness of God" is one inspired by the priest. He has been active in trying to discourage witch-killing and has insisted that the contagious diseases are sent by God. The villagers have accepted this as far as the origin of the disease is concerned, but as the deaths mount, people begin to suspect witchcraft.

753
761 Sudden attacks causing almost immediate death are classified as judgments of the ancestors rather than as illness. These include "seizure, because the very cold leg and arm of the ancestors touch the body [of the victim]" and "ancestors grab the soul." Asphyxiation and heart attack may be some of the modern classifications for such diseases. If a child should die suddenly, the logic applied in Tzoˀontahal is that the *meʔiltatil ḳananatay lum,* the mother-father ancestors who care for earth, see a potential danger in the soul of the child and seize it so that he will not develop into a witch. These are the only deaths I know of which are not attributed to witchcraft.

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzoʔontahal is 621
based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected 177
officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from 178
that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation
of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession
of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational
adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien
governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes
to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest 632
social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the 178
absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization
that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of 175
the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing 632
the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each 628
town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones,* hilled-up [131]
boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding [621]
certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy [428]
persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community
enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence 175
of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil- 632
religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the 177
present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b). 621

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of 171

621

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the 621
new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any 561
position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this [693]
post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the
first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik,
and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves
with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in [625]
five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series
except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *huˀeletik̨*, those who are "able" 621
(in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a [192]
high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in
the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and [212]
síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak [191]
fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a [177] •
few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for [178]
these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers
of official documents and are called *firmanetik̨*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary [464]
which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post [563]
which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by [178]
preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The
present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzoˀontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious 794
posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently
from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the
religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik̨*, mayordomos or caretakers, and
alperesetik̨, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the
sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent
has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

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[2] Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the [555]
homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and
release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of [212]
literacy is broken.

undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining 621
the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal support- 794
ers in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Span- 527
ish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems.

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of be- 621
havior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition 794
of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expecta- 527
tions which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are 177
the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage di- 178
rectors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the pat?o?tan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors.

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old 621
officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the 794
new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of 527
the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly empha- 178
sized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the

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[5] Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

621
794 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of
527 the higher officials.

178 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved
621 in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking,
794 these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully mea-
527 sured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it
273 of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy.
Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the
[192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaḳsion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act,
which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affect-
794 ing the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on
561 the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of
177 the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in car-
178 rying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obli-
gations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home. 621 794 561 177 178

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965). 794 554 434 796 754 178 [556]

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role. 621 554 178 [273]

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

776 177 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This [171] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Nič'anil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

[192] Table 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Nič'anil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'oš (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ʔihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meʔ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meʔtikčič ʔu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 539 177 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meʔtik Čič ʔu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oš, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oš, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

Brother was in heaven, there never was night. He never rested from his 776
work. 539

One day K'oš said to his brother, "Let us go for a walk. We will get 177 *honey and eat it. I know where there is a tree." He told his mother to make tortillas to take with them. She made many tortillas for K'oš to eat, and in addition made two small tortillas.*

His mother asked K'oš, "Why do you want to go out walking?"

He replied, "I am going to find honey. Wait for me to return."

K'oš and his two older brothers walked until they arrived at the tree with the honey. The Elder Brother said, "I shall climb very high."

K'oš said, "I too will climb."

The Elder Brother said, "Do not climb. Wait and I shall throw the honey down. You cannot climb the tree, Šut" [*for this is what they called K'oš*].

K'oš just waited for his brother to throw down the honey. K'oš got very angry because the Elder Brother just threw down beeswax.[1] *An animal entered the trunk of the tree and started eating the root. The tree shook, frightening the two brothers. They called out, "What are you doing, Šut?"*

"Nothing. I am not doing anything. Why don't you give me good honey?"

"Go on and drink it," the older brothers said.

"I don't like it. It isn't any good," replied K'oš.

He did nothing for a while. Then the tree fell. K'oš saw the tree fall. He went and got the two small tortillas his mother had packed in his lunch, and he put one on the Elder Brother's nose. His brother turned into a pig. He tried to put the other tortilla on the Second Brother's nose, but he could not seize him. The Second Brother turned into a wild boar, and fled into the forest. He brought the Elder Brother to his house. When he arrived at his house with his little pig, he said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a little pig to raise."

"Where did you find it?" his mother asked.

"I just brought it," replied K'oš.

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[1] In recounting this passage, the narrator laughed, and when I asked why, said that the word for beeswax is also the word for excrement. She commented that K'oš was very bright because he would not tolerate this. [192]

776 *"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.*

539 *"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and*
177 *watch the little pig and I will go."*

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'oš went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'oš returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'oš returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'oš said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'oš, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

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184 2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tzeltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24–31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. Šut, the vocative term used in the Tzoʔontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, Šut killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whittaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to
171 that of Oxchuk.

the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people 776
will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to 539
work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights 177
the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she [821]
bears our sins.

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the 776
Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the 539
eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The 177
synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) 178
plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, 821
shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops.

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate char- 776
acters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the 539
hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil. 177

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

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[3] The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story. [192]

776 539 177 *not stand. Only one stands—he who does not respect us." The Virgin Mother said, "Yes, I saw another one who walks well watching our children." Jesus asked, "Did you get a good look where he walks?" His mother replied, "Yes, indeed, I saw him." Christ asked, "If you know, what are we going to do there where he walks?" "I do not know what we shall do," said his mother.*

Then, after a pause, Christ said, "Now I know what we will do! Do you know what hour he passes?" The Virgin answered, "Yes, I do."

"Good. I am going to make a little house and put a Victrola, an accordion, and also a violin in it. I will put a marimba, a guitar, and a harp on each side of the road. And I shall also put trago and beer, everything that is good to drink. When you see him coming, we will begin to play the marimba and guitar and all the music on both sides of the road. When you see the King of Evil, we will begin the dance and drink trago—everything there is—and he will look at what we drink."

The Virgin said, "I will invite him to dance a little." "Yes, you remain here dancing, and I shall go for a moment to see his children [corn plants]. Continue dancing while I go out to look," said Christ. The Virgin answered, "Good. Good."

And so the Devil passed by. When Christ left, the Virgin began to dance with the Devil. They drank more liquor to make him "lose his heart" [get drunk]. The Virgin did not see that the Devil put his tail in half of the bottle. It is because of this that the people say liquor is one-half Devil and one-half God.

Meanwhile, Jesus arrived where the children of the Devil were. He made no more than the sign of the cross, and all the children of the Devil died. It is after the Children of the Devil died that Christ seized control of the world.

And so it is true that we are his children who came out of Jesus Christ.

In this tale, evil is personified in the enemy of the Catholic Church, the King of the Jews who is also the pre-hispanic "King of Evil." The Virgin Mother is concerned with preventing the world from reverting to the situation in which people were born helpless, with just one arm and one leg, as it was when the Devil was in control. To prevent this, when the moon [821] [789] is "sick" or in eclipse, the people must call her back to life. The strategy is

to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the 776
horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be un- 539
derstood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of 177
the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise [821]
we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If [789]
he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with
only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun
who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the 776
power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn 821
the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Čaʔuk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world 776
serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of 821
them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they 834
see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits 776
which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

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[4] The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya
Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling [171]
the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

776 the east. Each of these is responsible for giving something to men: one gave corn, one wheat, one bulls, one horses, and one pigs. These spirits are recognized in the context of the household only: at the end of each household ceremony, the assembled guests stand and look to the East where the gods reside in a place called Santo Arió, somewhere in Guatemala. Since their gifts to mankind are products which are produced and consumed by the household, and since they are recognized in the context of the house, there is some basis for thinking of them as old household gods. Calnek (1962:61) has pointed out that among the ancient Maya, household gods were part of "a hierarchically ordered series of deities, worship or propitiation of which progressively links him not with other individuals conceived particularistically, but to all larger social units of which he is a member."

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539 The only case I know in which an identification is made between these household gods and the saints concerns Santa Teresa:

177 *Once long ago the owners began to harvest their milpas, and they put the corn in a pile. When the harvest was finished, they began to beat the corn from the cob. When they carried off the corn, some of the seed* [sb'ak'] *remained.*

A man passed by and heard a saint talking. He asked what she said, and she replied, "Nothing. I said that you should tell the Padre to pick me up and put my body (also sb'ak') in a church. I want a church for myself, and I shall wait here until you come to carry me inside the church. I do not want any companion. I don't want you to throw away the corn seeds, nor do I want you to burn the seeds because they are my bones. Make a good fiesta and bring me into the church with firecrackers and with prayers. Raise me high on a pedestal because I do not want to be kissed, I only want my feet to be kissed."

And now there is a church for Santa Teresa standing in a milpa outside of Comitán, in which she lives alone since there is no companion for her.

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177 *The lord spirits of the church.* Among the sixteen saints of the church, four "big saints"—Sacramento, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and San Francisco—are distinguished from the others. All four are considered by the Indians to be patron saints of the pueblo, although the

priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically 776
ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there 177
are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to
legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following 776
story recounts his transformation: 754
539

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to 177
the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucia, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit 776
in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is 754
killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from 177
witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set 174
up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and [674]
foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is
identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʔuk. The following is a 776
typical account of his power: 821
539

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the 177
lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

776
821 *and so he returned and the Lord of Lightning gave him another job—that*
539 *of making lightning flashes.*

177
San Pedro now gives protection to the people from the power he wields.
776 During his fiesta, palm crosses are distributed to everyone who attends
177 mass; if a man walks with a cross tucked in his hat or a woman wears one
789 strung on her neck, he or she will not be struck by lightning. The houses are similarly protected with palm crosses.

776 Santa Lucía is the only other saint in the local roster who is described as
177 being "very powerful." She is supposed to be able to cure diseases of the eyes. The image of her in the church shows her holding two eyes reflected in a small mirror in the palm of her hand. The story which explains why
776 she holds them was told me with an expression of complete belief, and
177 other informants vouch for its authenticity:

> 539
> 821 *Formerly, Santa Lucía used to "talk with" [a euphemism for "had an affair with"] Santo Tomás of Oxchuk. Santo Tomás loved her because she was pretty. Santa Lucía was so in love with Santo Tomás that she gave him a gift of her eyes. He did not want them—he was frightened by the gift—and he returned them. From then on, she did not speak to him. Now, when a child has sickness of his eyes, his mother buys medicine and takes it to Santa Lucía who gives her blessing, and the child gets well.*
>
> *They say the lightning struck the church in Oxchuk, and it was the fault of Santa Lucía. But then a few years ago it struck our church. And that was the fault of Santo Tomás. He is very strong.*
>
> *"I am going to see how she will pay for that!" said Santo Tomás.*
>
> *And in ten years a storm came and broke the tower of our church. There was a meeting of the principales. They said, "Let's sell the cattle of Santa Lucía so that we can build a new church." The tower was struck another time. All the married men had to contribute forty pesos each. We made it out of metal this time, because Santo Tomás is very strong.*

821 On a conscious level, most people know that the earth is round, and that
776 the sun revolves around it, but the motivating power behind natural phenomena is still conceived in personalized terms. One informant, when asked why the sun rises and sets, ventured cautiously, "I have heard that our Father, the Sun, revolves and that he goes down below the earth. But

821 776 I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started.

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

CARING FOR THE LORD SPIRITS OF THE CHURCH

776 794 796 821 177 The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought.

776 794 796 177 The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week.

796 [805] [178] [171] Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzoʔontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó.

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
[273] house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[276] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
[522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
• 177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid
their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[731] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not
want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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[177]

and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the
178 constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by
177 members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained
621 intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and author-
794 ity and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring
578 are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, spe-
177 cifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal
178 and priest in the religious authority.

The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five
[212] blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills
[191] in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in
[756] the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of 578
the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements 177
given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people inter- 178
pret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring. [128]

THE CONFLICT AMONG CIVIL OFFICIALS

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in 621
determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been 555
that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external 212
authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these 177
skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and 178
read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and
Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses
taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s.
Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín
used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino
was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The 159
civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and 212
succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as 621
scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

> *After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom* [624]
> *then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift* [273]
> *for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.*

witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed 621
men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land 609
grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one 578
family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

> *The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.*
>
> *When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?"*
>
> *We answered, "We came to get your rifles."*
>
> *They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.*
>
> *They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."*
>
> *Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.*

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant fac- 621
tors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in 423
Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law 178
into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of 177
the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even [212]
greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not [191]
been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

621 ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal In-
423 dians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (labor-
178 ers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the de-
177 mand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days
[609] of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis
for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave
these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in
local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action
[754] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his
use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which
poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the
554 traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying
177 four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been
forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of
178 the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed
[191] in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and
[464] he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in
Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique
554 himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation
177 and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president
178 and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the
principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained. 621 177 178

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

621 787 177 178

The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived 000

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[1] Bishop Núñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19): [754] [171]

> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

776 The belief in power derived
174 from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahual-
ism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek
1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence
but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integra-
793 tion of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests
787 controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree
754 of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us
• 177 one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there
178 is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use.
776 However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an
important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of pre-
[621] senting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to
[609] tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the
town.

621 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft
626 is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in
754 Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-
769 holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the
756 judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any
177 child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his
178 power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

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[754] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims,
[171] so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

[2] In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

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as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side 754
of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, 769
were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or 756
others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the 177
town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges— 178
are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *meʔ . . tat . .*,
common to the terms applied to them, meʔtiktatik, meʔiltatil, and meʔeštateš.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

> *Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the* 159
> *town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Fran-* 621
> *cisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then* 754
> *began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and* 682
> *Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went*
> *out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away,*
> *and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco*
> *felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who* [692]
> *came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and*
> *cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to* carry him.

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[3] The suffixes *-el*, and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts. [193]

[P.245]

TABLE 29. Time, Victim, Suspects, Crime, and Outcome in Selected Homicide Cases, 1938–1965

	Victim *Curer or other*	*Age*	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1938 *	Other	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1945	Other	65	Drinking companions	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail
1946	Curer	48	Brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Witchcraft	One brother went to jail for five years
1946 *	Other	38	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one complained to authorities
1946	Curer	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No punishment; no suspect apprehended
1946	Curer	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	Wife of victim complained, but no witness would testify
1958	Curer	27	Father of boy who had died of witchcraft	Witchcraft	Before dying, dead man revealed name of killer. Wife reported it to authiorities, but no action taken
1960 *	Other	60	Son-in-law	Witchcraft	Son-in-law fled town
1960	Other	24	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Released killer on bail
1960	Curer	60	Brother-in-law	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961	Curer	70	Neighbors	Witchcraft	Neighbors, who felt he was responsible for contagion, were not apprehended
1961 *	Other	30	Wife's brother	Very abusive, fought when drunk	Suspect fled town

(*cont.*)

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	Victim Curer or other	Age	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1961*	Other	45	Neighbors	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961*	Other	37	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended; wife agreed he was a witch
1962	Other	18	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962	Other	20	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Went to jail but released on bail
1962	Other	35	Brother-in-law	Revenge for death of brother; political conflict	Killer declared he had killed, paid fine and was released
1962*	Other	20	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962*	Other	50	Leader of cattle association	Stole cattle	Unknown
1963*	Curer	36	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended, but victim's brother tried to find killer
1963	Curer	45	Indian of neighboring town whom victim had accused of witchcraft	False accusation	No action taken
1963*	Other	Unknown	Drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of assailants went to jail, and other two bailed out
1963	Other	70	Sons of a man whom he was accused of having killed	Witchcraft	No action taken
1964*	Other	30	Killer paid by victim's brothers	Stole cattle	Brother fled town but jailed when he returned
1964*	Other	34	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1964	Other	30	Ladino liquor distiller of another town	Denounced distiller to authorities	No action taken

[P.247]

	Victim				
	Curer or other	*Age*	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1964	Other	30	Brothers	Witchcraft	One brother fled; other put in jail but he claimed first brother did it
1964	Curer	65	Neighbors	Witchcraft in contagion	No action taken
1964	Other	22	Close friend of victim, hired by cattle owners	Stole cattle	Killer freed on bail
1965	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1965 *	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1965	Other	42	Unknown	Unknown	No one accused
1965	Other	27	Brother-in-law	Had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law	Brother-in-law tried but not sufficient evidence
1965 *	Other	35	Unknown	Stole cattle and corn	No action taken
1965	Other	42	Son by first marriage	Failed to provide dowery; also witchcraft	Widow spread rumors against step-son, but insufficient evidence
1965	Other	20	Rival for brother's girl	Mistaken identity—brother's rival took him for competitor	Unknown

* Occurred during a fiesta.

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition 621
between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility [829]
and control were contained within these parameters, and any [578]
conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms.

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic 621
rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative 474
was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. 471
The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital 177
in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's 178
wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying 494
pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios.

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates 474
to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town 621
president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then 666
hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices.

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. 621
With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 474
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permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to [291] wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

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In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes [665] for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

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There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoˀontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, 622
or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described [563]
below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently
killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the commu-
nity; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is [626]
justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques
have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy
as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that
the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of
expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing
directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique.
The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact
that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from
a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one
man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoˀontahal. The extractable [178]
profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their
rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated 622
by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoˀontahal. In the 1950s 177
and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. 178
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He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a [434]
percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence
in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest [426]
and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian [454]
partners.

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[4] Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

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177 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians,
178 but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be
[454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.
[754]
[756] His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster,
159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that
875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local
177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople,
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563 some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water
578 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to
[312] bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred
[756] when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children
[871] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited
[582] from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused
the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and
profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support.
875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting
177 the school population, over which he had a great deal of control.
178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the
563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with
557 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired
[608] from the United Nations and other educational film sources and
[546] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol
[278] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired
[431] wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than
their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding
others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his
early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists
and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain
[494] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new
truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state
capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He
promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an In- 159
dian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recogni- 875
tion. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the school- 563
master accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental 177
and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even ex- 178
penses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials 557
on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his 159
supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audi- 875
ence for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the in- 871
stallation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record 563
some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In at- 177
tendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-own- 178
ing cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me 557 [123]
that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed any- [126]
one! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
875 *they are campesinos.*

871 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*

557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your cloth-*
ing. Do you understand me?"

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above] has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she [Juana] will use witchcraft."

President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of 159
witchcraft." 875

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the 871
pueblo." 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her 177
hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well 178
organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the 159
town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in 875
the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that 563
some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 177
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159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
• 177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoˀontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

794 while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the do-
793 nation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him
of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of
[685] these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is
the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of
the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Sec-
[178] ond, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and
the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the
role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they
chose a man who knew the patʔoʔtan and who was to deal directly with
the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the
cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man.
793 If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems
794 with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out
578 of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to im-
prove the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests be-
tween the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful
position for the fiscal to take.

CONFLICT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

621 In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following
• 177 observations can be made on the basis of the events described.
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1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate
[212] men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been
accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and
síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the
hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their
[609] skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing
them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

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4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged 178
the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many [756]
of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the
power of these men.

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, [193]
but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town.

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if nec- 641
essary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the com- 622
munity welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for 177
the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encour- 178
aged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities.

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new 665
center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on eco- 621
nomic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town 178
has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other.

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these 769
organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning 756
belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at 178
the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their
position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town [683]
hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community.

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621

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621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the
town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of
other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on
guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the
external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization
can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events
which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert
Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the
past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
794 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
621 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed
economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious
[793] sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the
church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing
influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
621 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of
the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and 829
those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and 62
fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no 182
political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and
do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the
corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker,
but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The [156]
preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned
assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened
or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation 829
of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four 62
and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive 178
and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include 177
new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the 626
curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt [756]
that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are [754]
beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of
the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for
the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, 621
the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention 178
of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial 177
affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control 185
is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that
puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the
usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived
as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western
influence. In Tzoˀontahal, young leaders within the community have
confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally
they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the
priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" 621
(Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoˀontahal as a case 177 178

621 example demonstrates the large input of local energies in bringing about
177 change, both the changes that lead to internal restructuring of the distribu-
178 tion of power as well as those necessary in the introduction of new technology and organization of economic activity. It defeats the notion of the non-western segment of the world as a passive recipient of the gifts of the West.

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in
Tzoˀontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist
is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms.
Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused
by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few
women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role performed [759]
by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the
newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177•
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was
first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech.
Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they
often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in
the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life
cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first
signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise.
Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of
the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the
prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

682
been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate 683
by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table
29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son- 593
in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are 606
expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their 578
children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The [584 425]
scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, result-
ing in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from 152
envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the 156
"limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 178
1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not 556
a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive 754
awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel
themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to
the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new [474]
leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for exam-
ple, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in [685]
the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises 177
have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and con- 178
trol. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on 554
the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital 621
invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the
enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world
has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the
basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the
same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated
higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of [556]
wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also [794]
failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and [754]
in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to
witchcraft aroused by envy.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office. 344 352 695 625

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. 344 621 Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist. 554 123

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first. 622 693

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, 62 now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient 405 portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many 177 errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive 553 the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; 691 creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan 426 or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido 647 Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing 423 with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion 346 may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political 375 importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing 695 not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire 344 spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort 562 to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more 273 often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

The townspeople feel that they own the 346
church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes 793
two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, 794
however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the 177
church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a 178
prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church.

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as 346
they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the 526
church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the 788
floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized 621
in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo 794
during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale 182
to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains.

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings 346
to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of 796
ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the
crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction [794]
of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles.

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The [562]
men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the
women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar [563]
are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters [794]
indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass.

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346
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776 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix
782 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday.
Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the glass with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience
[562] by paying for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male
[788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a
[152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going
[794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre-
571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and
562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assist-
621 ance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather
875 than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained uninte-
[177] grated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there
[178] was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in 346
the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen 621
years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his 875
fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him.

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living 346
quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with 352
crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and 353
the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms 872
to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart.

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to 621
share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, 875
his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of [346]
the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the [353]
flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village.

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The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the 875
children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years 578
with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. 177
In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to 178
round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school 872 177

The traumatic experience
872 of his first day in school
is recounted by a man now sixty-eight years of age. He was thirteen in
177 1918, the first year that compulsory education was introduced into the
115 town.

159 *I was in my house when I heard the civil authorities call the children to*
177 *school. The police came to tell me to go to school. I did not go because my*
872 *mother wanted me to accompany her on the road to Teopisca. On our way to Teopisca, the inspector saw me and asked me why I didn't go to school. My mother replied, "I am a widow. He came with me because I seek for what we eat. Therefore he must go with me."*

The inspector did not hear her words. Since he was mounted on horseback, he said to me as I was walking, "Come here, boy. Don't walk on foot, climb up on the horse." I was embarrassed to climb up on the horse, and I had some fear because I had never ridden on horseback. I began to cry. "Don't cry," he said. "You are only going to school. The schoolmaster will not beat you." It is then that my mother said, "Señor, don't take him. See that there is no one else to accompany me on the road. When I come home, there will be no one to do errands."

But the inspector feared nothing. His heart was hot, hot. A man came by and told the inspector that I did not know how to ride and that I was afraid. The inspector said, "If he doesn't know how to ride, then you take him." But the man replied, "But I don't want to. It is better that I go get wood. You take him by force if you can, Señor. I go before your face" [a way of excusing himself].

I didn't want to go, and I just cried because I didn't want to. The inspector seized me, and put me on horseback. I was afraid to get up, and I cried and cried from fear. He said, "Stop it! Let us go!"

And so he led the horse with me on it. My mother cried when she saw the inspector take me off on horseback. She remained very sad as I left, since she no longer had a companion. I went on to school, and the inspector handed me over to the schoolmaster.

The schoolmaster gave me a paper with my name, which I didn't know. I did not hear what was said in that large school because I did not know Spanish. The schoolteacher asked me, "What are you called, little boy?" I cried a great deal because I felt sad for my mother whom I had left in

Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to 159
beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. 177 •
You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the 872
letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow."

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of in- 875
struction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In 876
the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by 159
some pleasure and interest, which he experienced: 212

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. 875
She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote 876
badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters."

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. 571
In the home the meˀeletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have 554
established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks 576
of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the 562
cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community 871
standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding 177 •
their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities 178
backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of
the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with
the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of [293]
office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of
local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints im- 778
ages, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but 177
have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols 178
are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. 788
The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered
cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are
kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with 186
which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and valida- 621
tion of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally 177
shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 178

621 177 178

tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet fully incorporated into the community framework.

621 571 177 182 554

Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Patterned behavior, such as the set speeches of the patˀoˀtan, the formalized drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were
often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but
the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a
month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people
note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which
a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities,
such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for
the roof.

THE DAILY SCHEDULE

512 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The
462 woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal
cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys
who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and
sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it
is in season.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with house- 512
hold tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to 462
make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every [323]
other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are [857] [312]
about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to [252]
the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks
of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon [241]
break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During peri- [264]
ods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields.
At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect fire- [313]
wood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. [576]
They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves
and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them [857]
into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the [461]
porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their
heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is [252]
cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires [513]
about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough 796
absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. 177
The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is 178
geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest. 512

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday 796
is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are 512
scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift [782]
of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops
and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality [262]
because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the
townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

THE ANNUAL CYCLE 221

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events es- 796
tablish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities.
Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on 175
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These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive 181
structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting [805]
and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people [571]
can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior
to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in 181
the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial 177 •
activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which 178
has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have [796]
refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time [794]
and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was
abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, [871]
or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized
parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus 181
and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as 177
importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and 178
they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla 462
press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to 823
adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making [252]
since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning
basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming 181
other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist 796
remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill
his ceremonial obligations.

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

181 Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to liv-
177 ing in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity
178 is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding
people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals sym-
bolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery
and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same.
The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to pre-
serve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base
using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing re-
liance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods.
[423] The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence culti-
[621] vation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political
influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of
strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside
the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behav-
ior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are los-
ing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideol-
ogy for new strategies.

[241] The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the tradi-
tional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is
[323] incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in
[464] nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious
[871] sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school,
as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict be-
tween old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently recep-
000 tivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment 128
or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES 868

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part 241
of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for 323
teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout
the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that 241
provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and fami- 177
lial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specializa- 178
tion of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology 423
has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorpo- 621
rated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and or- 323
ganization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a 177
fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a 178
given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by 323
ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings 241
to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at 776
the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought [796]
to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177
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177 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
178 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association
621 for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
476 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
312 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
[685] theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring
killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is
limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
273 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal
177 and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide
[694] organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority,
[681] it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.
[621]
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptition
177 to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand
these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are
being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing
the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural
472 belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized
178 the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation
Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own
ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos
had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional
markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic
and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of
neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved 474
a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and 472
national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence 177
of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. 178
Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in [682]
the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned 608
on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized 571
in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a 578
flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role 182
in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle
changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the 561
trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment 182
to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually 602
reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of 608
ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring 591
relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres 626
to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures 621
for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family 578
networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes [681]
in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies [762]
fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community
or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the 561
game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household 182
officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers
and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige
acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the [769]
direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest
force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

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RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

776 Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

776 The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their
182 envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and
789 gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dis-
[755] like. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Be-
[571] havior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of ap-
[273] peasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

776 Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the
177 heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens
178 have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior.
[834] Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to
[784] arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such 776
things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural 177
forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited 178 [834]
influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they [784]
are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser 776
saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints 796
are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve 177
more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are 178
made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser
saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople
have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a
link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but
except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Chaʔuk
in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. 776
Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness 177
of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated 178
with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes
apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives
that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest
spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources
may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format,
as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oš (Chapter
8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural [793]
translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church
(Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib.
cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the
two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps 773
in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed 177
in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the 178
patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
177 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the
rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and
then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in
these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into
line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning
776 crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
782 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
177 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
178 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will
not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors
left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of
money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to
adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso
notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their
own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
776 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted
as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity
with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own
ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give
illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
182

struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the 771
tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck 776
again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra- 821
community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" 182 [789]
occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging
metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure mini- 156
mizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's 771
own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as 755
his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of 182
their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organiza- 621
tional changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The 794
alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the 177
lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido 178
Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not 621
in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new in- 578
terpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing in- 177
stitutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a 178
contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

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578 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the
177 community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic
178 competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the
[114] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence
[474] of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales
[182] watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers
watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ances-
[756] tors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of
witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are
the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead.
They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in
them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accom-
756 panied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer
177 the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ances-
178 tors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of
being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority con-
trolling their use of destructive forces.

561 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative
554 of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors.
177 This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in tradi-
178 tional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige sys-
tem persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes
in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the
177 past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in
178 the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to con-
firm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors
and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a
kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their
everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social
lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social
system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last
only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the re-
cruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

105 177 178 181 182

The material conditions making for equilibrium are breaking down within the community, but the failure for protest to develop means that old beliefs are not challenged by new ideologies. Adaptations and adjustments made in response to changes are still forced into this framework of understandings and expectations. But without any stated changes in belief, Indians are themselves transforming the internal structure of the society by undermining the old gerontocracy and shifting the locus of power to the innovating young men. A binary model of change that poses a transformation from traditional to modern might ignore these internal changes that maintain a given equilibrium intact but that provide a reordering of power making possible a successful adaptation to larger social orders. Tzoʔontahal is a case in point proving that the external conditions are not sufficient to explain fundamental restructuring of the society. People continue to act out a faith in the ways of the ancestors at the same time that adjustments and adaptations are made in response to increasing interdependence in regional and national institutions. The same framework of government is retained as shifts of power give scope to a new kind of leadership. Continuity in forms has the positive effect of preserving a sense of security. The social costs are a slowing down of adaptive responses and a high investment in the "ceremonial fund" (Wolf 1966). The benefits can only be measured by comparison with cultures that have lost these controls.

The universal problem which this community is in the process of working out has been stated by G. H. Mead (1938:22): "How is a society to find a method for changing its own institutions and still preserve the security of those institutions?" The present phrasing of the problem in the community is: "How can we preserve the solutions of the past and apply them to the present?" So long as the problem is phrased in this way, the solution is to exile or kill the deviants or innovators who attempt fundamental change. The threat of witchcraft continues to maintain conformity, and fear subverts the search for an ideology to phrase behavioral adjustments and adaptations in such a way that they will be congruent with future goals. Such an ideology cannot be imposed. Only the people themselves can work out the ways in which meaning and understanding are given to technological and social change.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

121 The aim of this study is two-fold. First, it attempts to offer an analytical description of the process of development of the household unit in two Tzeltal villages; second, it explores the internal factors which, in two societies with the same cultural background, are associated with differences in certain features of this same institution.

121 Most studies of Middle American communities explain varia-
177 tion among societies which are historically related as a result of
acculturation pressures since conquest times, which have altered
or destroyed the native institutions to the point of nullifying
the traditional loyalties of the society and its system of re-
ciprocal obligations. That is, these studies deal with variation
which emerges from the external system (i.e., the society at large
to which the village community is a part, this being the local
Ladino society, the municipio, the nation, etc.) rather than with
differences which emerge from variation in the internal system
(i.e., structural pressures which originate from within the social
121 milieu of the community). In this study, we have selected two
communities which stand in essentially the same relation to

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. [592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

000 animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros, 231 cattle,[1] hogs and chickens.

311 To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1959, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

172 Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

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[231] [177] [648] [1] Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

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169 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888;
621 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join
631 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to
either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

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TABLE 2

AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

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286 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers
[874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

621 121 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

621 423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

175 •177 423 [174] We do not know what the characteristic features of the pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

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175 the *encomendero* and the Church; and communal, which contained the
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423 woodland, pasture, and the site of the village itself.

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> Several considerations may have promoted [the Spanish] Crown policy toward [the creation of] such communities. First, the corporate community performing joint labor services for an overlord was a widespread characteristic of European economic feudalism. In trying to curtail the political power of a potential new landholding class in the Spanish colonies the Crown took over management of Indian communities in order to deny the conquerors direct managerial control over labor. The Crown attempted to act as a go-between and labor contractor for both peasant community and landowner. Second, the corporate community fitted well into the political structure of the Spanish dynastic state, which attempted to incorporate each sub-cultural group and to define its radius of activity by law. This enables the Crown to marshal the resources of such a group as an organized unit, and to impose its economic, social and religious controls by a type of indirect rule. Third, the corporate structure of the peasant communities permitted the imposition of communal as well as individual burdens of forced labor and taxation. (Wolf, 1955:457.)

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177 Independent Mexico inherited from the Spanish Empire these communities, and although at some time or other modifications of the over-all political structure have been proposed, the communities have persisted through the last century with basically the same makeup, and without having changed much in terms of their social structure or their cultural content.

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[184] In other areas of Mexico where urbanization and a more industrial society has developed, or where it was possible to mechanize agriculture, the corporate community quickly gave way to new forms of social organization. But in Chiapas, especially in the highlands, a definitely marginal area in terms of national development, very few large scale changes have been introduced, and most of them have been rapidly assimilated into the local structure, rather than transforming it.

000 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one
or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have
become economically and jurally independent of their parents.
342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in
it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A
very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man
house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also
tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how
much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to
him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much
"ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with
ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms,
windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is
not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation
of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification
between people and their homestead.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

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422 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
593 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
578 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
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613 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of
principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the
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613 supernatural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
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434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear
578 household, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
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594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role
578 exactly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

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613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
(602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
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556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
156 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
177 choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
156 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
626 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the com-
556 munity, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of
witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

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[177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been
178 Alfereces in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been
794 occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take
754 the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

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754 [177] it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict. So, although the fact that the Alferez has disappeared as a post can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them. [754] [828] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable